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THE GUILT AND CONSEQUENCES OF NATIONAL COVENANT BREAKING.

2nd. Samuel 21: 1-2. Then there was a famine in the days of David, three years, year after year; and David inquired of the Lord. And the Lord answered, It is for Saul, and for his bloody house, because he hath slain the Gibeonites.

And the king called the Gibeonites, and said unto them, (now the Gibeonites are not of children of Israel, but of the remnant of the Amorites; and the children of Israel had sworn unto them; and Saul sought to slay them, in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah.)

Wherefore David said unto the Gibeonites, What shall I do for you? and where with shall I make the atonement, that ye may bless the inheritance of Israel?

The history in this passage is a remarkable instance of the retributive and disciplinary justice of God, on account of iniquity and cruelty in the violation of a national pledge. The Gibeonites were descendants of a race with whom the Jewish government and people, under Joshua, had entered into a solemn treaty of protection. This treaty had been kept sacred from generation to generation, down to the time of Saul. The Gibeonites were celebrated for the service of the priests, for the work necessary in the Temple. They were a race of religious ministers, and were the altar and the table of the Lord. In Saul's day a large number of them must have been as well as in the days of Joshua. In the city of the Priests, where Ahimelech resided, and directed the rites of divine worship.

It was there, in the sanctuary, that the sword with which David cut off the head of Goliath was deposited as a relic. It was to that sanctuary that David himself repaired, when he fled from Saul, who was seeking to kill him. It was there that the occurrence took place recited in the 21st chapter of the 1st book of Samuel, and referred to by our blessed Lord in his question to the Jews. Have ye never read what David did, when he entered into the sanctuary, and did eat of the shew bread? because he was an hungred, and they that were with him?

On that occasion he happened to be a spy, an enemy of David, Doeg the Edomite, a eunuch of those days, who saw the transaction, and the kindness of the Priest to David, and reported it to Saul. Immediately the rage of the king was kindled against Ahimelech, but not content with working it on him, he slew every individual of his family except one son, and in addition to that, he killed the city and put to death all its inhabitants, men, women, and children.

It was said of sanguinary ferocity against an innocent people, worse than any of the cruelties of Herod or Caligula. For, in addition to the common obligations of humanity and justice, the people of that city, being Gibeonites, were under the protection of the national covenant in their behalf. But Saul not only committed that vast and dreadful murder of men, women and children, in that whole city, but seems to have endeavored to exterminate the whole race of the Gibeonites in the nation, and affected to be governed in this cruelty by the largest and purest patriotism, and to have acted, out of the most fervent zeal to the children of Israel and Judah. Doubtless he endeavored to exterminate their prejudices against the Gibeonites, as not being of the stock of Abraham, but secured to the covenant and foreigners, who ought to have been considered as expelled at the outset, and though born in the land and by the law of God members of the Jewish Commonwealth, yet being of the race of man, the mistake of putting Ham for Canaan, and giving Africa to the Canaanites had not then been made, had no rights that the native Israelites, the Anglo Saxons of that day, were bound to respect. Saul would have exterminated them, especially as he found, in all probability, a great and growing enthusiasm among them in favor of David, whose name was already before the people as that of the inevitable heir of the throne, the destined possessor of the kingdom, the will of God.

But all that was concealed so far as Saul could do it, and putting his cruelty against this race on the ground of his zeal for the supremacy of the native Hebrews, and the necessity of the possession of the land exclusively by them, it would seem that, in this way, and by other stratagems and influences of despotic power, he drew the nation into at least a silent acquiescence in his schemes, and consequently a complicity in the guilt of them. They did not resist or resent the enormous wickedness of the massacre of the priests and citizens; they did not impede Saul for the violation of the national faith; they did not interfere, as they should have done, for the security and deliverance of those whom Saul sought to destroy. There had been a time, a freshness of their independence and love of freedom and justice, when they would have done this. There was a time when they rose as one man against the command of the king that Jonathan should be put to death, and delivered him out of the king's power. But they did not thus interfere for the innocent priests and Gibeonites, and they made no protest against the oppressive policy of Saul, nor appeal to God against it.

But God, as a God of justice, laid up this crime for future settlement. For the present, his judgments against Saul and against the nation fell thick and immediate, but without any special reference to that great outstanding crime of Saul's reign, and within six years Saul perished, and his army was slaughtered, on the mountains of Gilboa. Not till forty years after that crime, not till David himself had been reigning more than thirty years, did God call the people to account for that wickedness; and then he did it first by his judgments; awakening their consciences to ask what could be the cause of God's evident displeasure against the nation; and then, in answer to David's enquiry, God made known that it was that violation of the national pledge, that cruelty and oppression against the Gibeonites, for which he had now come down to judge the people, and for which, before his wrath could be stayed, or justice vindicated, an expiation must be made as public and awful as the crime; or if that was impossible, such an atonement, and so public and solemn in the execution of justice, that the whole nation should be taught, to all generations, how great is the guilt of oppression and of national cruelty against the weak and defenseless; and above all, the wickedness of the sin of national perjury, the crime and guilt of violating a national covenant of justice and protection in regard to any class.

There is another later instance, more remarkable than this, where the nation for the time perished, where the whole people were swept from the land by God's judgments of fire and sword,

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capitulation and famine, for the breaking again of their national covenant of freedom; and as they would not keep their oath in proclaiming liberty to the oppressed, God would execute his promise in proclaiming liberty for the oppressors, to the sword, the pestilence and the famine. The evolution of this second tragedy, the circumstances attending it, the lessons from it, and the appalling resemblance between the history of that fatal crisis in the life of the Jewish nation and this in ours, it is impossible on this occasion to treat.

I proceed to consider the national pledges of justice and freedom for all, and the guilt and consequences of violating them; more especially, the danger we are now in of such violation, and the perdition we assume, if we do not keep our oath.

1. The nature of our national pledges, and the manner in which God is now visiting us with judgments in consequence of their violation.

GOVERNMENT A COVENANT WITH GOD.

Every formal government, recognizing the authority of God, is of the nature of a covenant entered into with him to do his will, administering government for those purposes for which he has ordained it. But in Constitutional governments, so called, governments with written Constitutions, or great fundamental charters, this covenant with God becomes more explicit. It becomes a covenant both with God and with the people. There is an appeal to the people of justification and authority from God: there is an oath and covenant with the people on their behalf, and there is an appeal to God and a covenant with him in the very assumption of the functions and prerogatives of public justice.

In our government and Constitution the covenant is expressly of justice and freedom for all, a covenant with the people on their behalf, and with God, for the fulfillment of that pledge.

SPECIFICATIONS OF THE COVENANT.

1. The Declaration of Independence is such a Covenant and pledge. The appeal to those inalienable rights with which all men are endowed by their Creator, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, is not only a covenant with the people, but a pledge towards God, to establish, preserve, and never violate those rights.

2. The declaration, in the next sentence, that the very object of the institution of governments among men is to secure those rights, is such a covenant and pledge; especially when coupled with the solemn declaration that the violation of those rights by the parent government of Great Britain was the only reason for our adoption of a new and independent government.

3. All these elements of covenant and adjudication are concentrated in the solemn closing "appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, solemnly publishing and declaring that these United States are, and never ought to be, free and independent states, with full power to do all things which independent states may do by right of nations." And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

This declaration of the supremacy, not of expediency, but of right, and of the will of the Creator and his pledge to sustain it, was proclaimed in such of the United States, and at the head of the Army. It belongs to our Constitution, and it is in reality an interpreting and integral part of it, and of the National compact and oath under which we are bound towards God.

PLEASANT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

4. But again, the Preamble to the Constitution is such a covenant and pledge. We, the people of the United States, in order to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution. Justice and liberty, covenanted in the declaration of Independence as the INALIENABLE RIGHTS of all, are here proclaimed and pledged as the OBJECT OF THE CONSTITUTION for the government of the Nation.

COVENANT OF LIBERTY FOR ALL PERSONS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT.

6. But again, passing by other particulars, the central assurance in the Constitution itself, of the protection of all persons in the right of life, liberty, and property, is such a covenant and pledge. It is a covenant with God and with the people, binding the government not only itself not to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, except by due process of law, but to interfere to prevent others from such violence, and to deliver and protect all persons so deprived of those rights.

7. The article guaranteeing to the people of every State protection from domestic violence, a republican form of government, and to the citizens of each State all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, is such a covenant and pledge.

8. And the Article forbidding any State to pass any Bill of Attainder, that is, any bill or statute creating a caste, which shall be the subject of penalties, disabilities, exclusions, from parent to child; any bill condemning children through taint of blood, to suffer the forfeitures and penalties endured by their parents on account of crime, is such a covenant and pledge.

These are some of the essential elements of our National covenant with God and man. You will note that there is no covenant with Satan, there is no pledge of injustice, no covenant of slavery, but only of justice and of freedom. There could not by any possibility have been a covenant of freedom to all, and slavery to a part, in the same Constitution, no more than there could be a pledge of allegiance to Satan, and to God in the same creed, and a church of sane men persuaded to adopt it.

OUR HABIT OF BREAKING ALL THESE COVENANTS.

2. For seventy years these covenants have been broken, these pledges violated, and the violation has been put in the place of the law; the violation has been passed into precedent, and the precedent has been obeyed instead of the law, has been set up as an authority above the law; has been enforced as an oracle or epiphany for the meaning of the law, as a Urim and Thummim for the rights of slaveholders. It is just as if a society of Thugs should refer mankind to the immemorial usage of murder and robbery as the interpretation and meaning of the law: "Thou shalt not steal."

It is just as when the theologians of mantlingly interpret the law, "He that stealeth a man shall surely be put to death," as meaning, He that coveth or stealeth or enticeth away his neighbor's slave, shall be put to death. It is thus that the direct violation of the oath, and of the pledges of freedom, in our Constitution, has been

set up as the law of the Constitution. The decisions of pro-slavery judges, the comments of pro-slavery lawyers, the precedents of pro-slavery administrations, have been administered, instead of the Constitution itself, as being themselves the Constitution.

THE GREATNESS OF THIS GUILT.

We have broken the plain covenant of freedom and justice, in order to keep a pretended covenant of slavery. We have protested a true bill, in order to execute a forgery. We have violated both the letter and the spirit of the great charter of our liberties, in order to force an interpretation upon it, iniquitous, unauthorized, in order to establish a mis-interpretation which it will not bear. There is no sanction for it in the Constitution. If you could open a mountain of Red Sandstone, and by a machine print at the bottom of it the tracks of men, the fossils of their skeletons, and of negroes in chains, and the remains of a corn-cake, and then appeal to those traces as a proof that when the Red Sandstone formation was created, then men existed, and corn, and slaves, the fraud would not be greater. There is no more pledge, or authority, or obligation for slavery in the Constitution, than there is proof of a race of negroes in chains in the Red Sandstone of the globe.

NO SANCTION OF SLAVERY IN THE CONSTITUTION.

We went all these lengths in the practice of this crime, by tolerating and protecting it, under an assumed obligation of compromise and guarantee in our Constitution, in not one of which is there the shadow of the sanction of slavery; the thing itself being not even pointed out as in existence, neither by its name, nor in its elements, and no class designated as the appointed victims of such torture, with our Constitution as the instrument to keep them on the rack.

It had been such a class foredoomed and described in our Constitution, as the appropriate subjects of such cruelty, with our laws and judges, our courts, and every branch and power of our government, distinctly pledged to the work of executing its commission, the obligation of justice could have been valid only against those persons then existing, and thus described: the crime of such cruelty could have been constitutional and legal only while they lived, and pledged only to them, and secured to their owners, only with reference to those living chattels.

Without an express additional article setting apart their children, their posterity, as the consecrated subjects of such cruelty, without a United States' Law, devoting their offspring to slavery, and conferring on their masters the right of transmitting that curse, by an explicit, unmistakable decree, there could not be the perpetration of such wickedness beyond the first generation. It must have ceased with the death of the last victim existing as a slave, when the Constitution was formed.

NO PROTECTION FOR SLAVES BY BIRTH.

For without an express provision in the Constitution designating a particular class of those born under it to be born slaves, the whole population of the country are inevitably free born, born under allegiance to the government, and under protection of the Constitution, and neither liberty, nor property, nor life, to be taken from any one of them, without due process of law.

Every creature therefore of all the millions descended from those who were slaves when the Constitution was framed, and in consequence of such descent consigned to slavery, has been kidnapped; put into that hell by the direct complicity of the government, against the Constitution. The government and people have suffered that brand of chattelism to descend upon those victims of cruelty, by the million, under the seal of the very charter of our life and freedom. We have kidnapped every babe born within the United States, and put under that brand, since the Constitution was adopted.

We have placed these pretended guarantees as the instruments of men-stealers, in every cabin of the slave, to seize, in the name of a Constitution that appeals to God for its justice, every babe born in that cabin, and to pass the immortal being over to this Moloch!

NO LAW CONCERNING THE RIGHT OF SLAVERY.

To have had any right to do this, even by Statute law, and a fiction of its validity, we must have had the law. It could not be in the Constitution without being expressly written, nor conveyed by the Constitution except in form of law, passed in pursuance of such express constitutional pledge. There must have been adopted into the Constitution, and declared to be supreme over all its provisions of freedom, and against all its securities of justice, that maxim from the bottomless pit, *Partus sequitur ventrem*; that form of attainder concentrating more savage, barbarous, despotic cruelty and iniquity than any bill of attainder ever contrived or imagined by any class or government of torturers, inquisitors, or fiends in human shape, in any country or age, pagan or christian.

The treatment, by our government, of a race as slaves by descent, the toleration of such wickedness, the winking at it, the guaranteeing of it, the promise not to interfere with it, but to prevent it from being broken up, is the execution of such an attainder; the sending down, from generation to generation, of a forfeiture of blood, by taint of blood, not only of all the rights of citizenship and freedom, in a particular race, as subjects of this government, but of the rights of humanity itself. And this blasphemous attainder was publicly affirmed and sanctioned at the Tribunal of Supreme Justice of the United States, when Chief Justice Taney declared that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect.

Now that any article or intimation can be found in our Constitution, providing that because a man's parents were slaves, he and his children shall be slaves also, or guaranteeing that because a master holds a man and woman in slavery, therefore their children shall be held in slavery, no creature is so mad or idiotic as to pretend. But in default of such an article, and in virtue of natural right, it follows, that every human being, of all the men, women and children under the government of the United States, whether in Rebellion or out of it held in slavery, is kidnapped, and is a case of man-stealing, against the Constitution, and if under sanction of our government, and with the assurance that such man-stealing is more secure in the Union than out of it, then our government is a kidnapping party; whereas our government ought to have interfered under the Constitution, by its first obligation, to prevent such a crime, and to cause the release of every one of the victims of such cruelty.

GUILT OF GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.

Yet the government and people have looked on, with indifference, while this monstrous, this diabolical attainder has been passed by precedent into law, and executed upon the blood of millions, in the face of the direct prohibition of such attainder; and the government and nation have denied both the right and obligation of any interference to deliver its victims, any interference with slavery where it exists; thus publicly and from generation to generation, violating their covenant with God, and doing it under circumstances of appalling and exasperating aggravation. Seventy years this violation has continued.

FIRST INTERPRETATION OF THIS CRIME.

1. The first break up in the unity and continuity of the system was in the Secession of rebellious slaveholding States from our own Union. That was the first shock of God's earthquake, the first opening of the ground, trembling beneath the despotism of this giant sin. Instead of receiving God's warning, and shrinking back in horror from the guilt opened, or attempting to propitiate his mercy by acknowledgment and repentance, the slaves gathered themselves in council on the verge of that guilt, to propitiate the Seceders, then called rebels, by a new partnership in guilt, a new guarantee of their slavery, and a proposal so to amend our Constitution for the sake of their friendship, as to make any interference against slavery forever impossible, offering them what our fathers declared so abhorrent to all sense of justice, that they would not intimate it even by a word, an eternal sanction of the right of property in man; and thus proving, what every future historian of the United States will not fail to note, their own conviction that the Constitution of the United States was a Constitution FOR FREEDOM AND AGAINST SLAVERY; and with all the prestige, power, and influence of the mis-interpretation and torture of it by the pro-slavery party and power through three quarters of a century of precedents, decisions, and fugitive slave laws in their favor, could not be made sufficiently pro-slavery for them to live under it with security of their slaveholding rights unless by a direct amendment, so called, altering and improving it into a pro-slavery instrument.

But in God's mercy, this act of baseness and degradation, infamously humiliating and dreadful as it was, was too late. Even while it was on its mission of infamy, and had only obtained the humble sanction and response of the Governor of this State of New-York, God's second earthquake shock of rebellion struck it down and buried it. The bombardment of Fort Sumter turned Secession into open war, and woke up such a spirit in the North, that if any other Governor of a Free State had attempted to prosecute the projected amendment of the Constitution in behalf of slavery, he would easier have been impeached, than permitted to pursue that compromise.

Such is the history of our guilt; such has been the interposition of God's mercy in this rebellion, to prevent us, as a whole nation, from plunging into a worse crime than that even of violating the national covenant of freedom—the crime of altering it into a covenant of slavery, that we might thus purchase the perpetual domination of the Slave oligarchy over us, in the glory and riches of an undiscovered Union.

We would have saved the Union by slavery; but God will renew the life of the Union out of the death of slavery. God will not have the Union as it was, but a regenerated Union, purified from this hideous crime, transfigured by the terrible fires of retribution and refinement through which it is passing us, and made, what our Fathers intended it should be, and declared it ought to be, and supposed they had provided that it would be, a Union of justice and liberty for all.

The third and last revolution in our long remorseless habit and career, of violation of our national pledges, and of our covenant with God for the freedom of all persons under our government, and for justice to all; the third and last instance of God in his providence compelling us to do justice; was in the proclamation of freedom by our President to all the slaves in rebel States remaining in rebellion on the first of January, 1863. That edict, drawn forth from a reluctant government and people, by the pressure of necessity, under the great inexorable screw of God's providence, was a governmental and national covenant and pledge, as definite, solemn, and binding as any public engagement and oath could be. It not only declares all the slaves named in it to be free, but free forever, and it pledges the whole power of the government to maintain and protect that freedom, and it appeals to God for his blessing, and to all mankind for their judgment upon it. It has all the elements of publicity, solemnity and obligation, ever existing in a covenant. It was a solemn declaration, being preceded by a warning of three months to the slaveholding States, that they might save and retain their slavery, and practice it under the Union, if they would only return to their crime; but if they would not so return, then the deliverance and freedom of their slaves would follow, finally and irremediably. No pledge, no oath, no covenant, could be more solemn, explicit, unmistakable.

SACREDNESS AND PERPETUITY OF THIS COVENANT.

4. The sacredness of the President's proclamation, the obligation on the part of the government and people to hold him to it, and to keep it, cannot be questioned. All the elements that can constitute a solemn national obligation are in it.

It is a just and righteous edict, and is set forth as an act of justice, and if such, cannot be abandoned, since there remains the same obligation for its execution as there was for its issue. It is a benevolent edict, for a benevolent purpose, the deliverance of millions from the most oppressive bondage mankind have ever known. It is the execution of the national covenant of freedom, the long continued violation of which has been the cause of all our miseries.

It is a necessary edict, essential to our own salvation. It is necessary for the crushing of the Rebellion, and reducing the rebels to subjection. It is necessary for the redemption of our own government and Constitutional pledges of protection for all. It is necessary for the securing of the sympathy and respect of other nations.

It is not an experiment. The President has not pretended that it was such. It is a reality, a foundation laid, on which to build, not a trial, as the strength of a boiler, to see how much steam may be carried, or of a pillar, to see whether it will bear the required weight. It is one of God's own foundation stones prepared by Him; one of his appointed pillars of government; not to be questioned, not to be experimented upon, inevitable, essential.

It is a covenant with God, and an appeal is made openly to Him, in it. It is a covenant with the people, and an obligation laid upon them, to pay a national debt. It is not a temporary covenant, but forever. It is not a covenant based upon the duration of the war, or provisioned or conditioned upon the success of the war, but absolute and unconditional, unalterable and eternal. It is grounded on the common faith of mankind in the integrity of a righteous oath. It is grounded on elements which cannot be set at naught or repudiated, without a disintegration of human society, and a reduction of our social and civil state lower than that of savages. All the records of history cannot furnish a more solemn, august, magnificent and sacred pledge.

The attempt to set it aside, the endeavor to prepare the way for this nullifying it, is itself fearful, and constitutes an augury of terrible portent, as to the condition of our country. The pretences advanced for nullifying it are dreadful.

BOLD DENIAL OF THE COVENANT.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, the obligation of this covenant is deliberately denied, and it is affirmed that we are at perfect liberty to break it, and to resume that habit of the violation of our national charter of freedom and justice, and of our covenant with God, for which God is now judging us, and calling us to repentance. It is asserted and assumed that the President has a perfect right to withdraw and nullify his own proclamation; that neither he nor we are bound, or can be, to keep faith with negroes, or with God on their behalf. It is argued that because this edict of freedom and the pledge to sustain it was the product of compulsion on the part of divine providence, and an act of mere military necessity, therefore the moment the compulsion is lightened or if the war can be closed without obeying God, and executing the covenant of freedom, we have a right to disavow it, and the rebel States a right to resume their slavery, and make slaves again of the very persons whom we have made free, and that in that case, we should have no right to interfere in their behalf.

A pledge to a powerful foreign government we are obliged to keep; that pledge, being backed by power, we dare not retract, or break, or refuse to fulfill. Being backed by power, it is a moral obligation. But a pledge made to and for the weak, defenseless, helpless, is of no moral binding force; it is a mere thing of expediency; if it will advance our cause, we may keep it; if it will not, we may deny it; there being no ability in the defenseless party to enforce it, or to put us in fear, there is no moral obligation on us to keep it; on the contrary, we are at liberty to withdraw it, and to yield up those whom we had declared free forever, to eternal slavery.

The men who are capable of sentiments so base and of the wickedness of uttering them, deserve themselves to be made slaves. They are the offspring of the Union; heirs of the scales broken from the sacred conscience of a pro-slavery government and party; teachers of "doctrines of devils."

Neither the ignorance of savages, nor the principles of an association for piracy and rapine, prevail a nation to despise its engagements. If there could be a resurrection from the foot of the gallows, if the victims of justice could live again, clogged together, and form a society, they would, however loath, soon find themselves obliged to make justice, that justice under which they fall, the fundamental law of their state. They would perceive it was their interest to make others respect, and they would therefore soon pay some respect themselves to the obligation of good faith."

"It is painful, I hope it is superfluous, to make even the supposition, that America should furnish the occasion of this prostration. No let me not even imagine that a republican government, springing out of its own soil, from a people, enlightened and uncorrupted, a government whose origin is right, and whose daily discipline is duty, can upon its own merits, make its option to be false; and dare to act, what deeps dare not avow, what our own example evinces the States of Barbary are unsuspected of."

May God forbid that what our fathers, fifty years ago, deemed a crime impossible, their descendants at this hour, should be so abandoned as to commit it!

"THE WAR."

The Princeton Review Reviewed.

In the light of its own theology and ethics.

NUMBER FIVE.

The Word of the Lord.

On National Punishments for oppression.

THE GENERAL DOCTRINE.

Of rewards and punishments of individuals and nations, in the present life, as a doctrine of Divine Revelation, has been amply sustained, already, through a full impression of its prominence and importance in the system of orthodox Theology, would require a careful perusal of the Scriptures, as a whole, with a steady eye to that subject.

ITS IMPORTANCE.

Equally evident is it, that to any rational scheme of Natural Theology, if any such Theology is to be recognized, a belief in the same doctrine must be indispensable. The moral and the Providential Government of God over mankind are foundation truths, without a belief of which there could be no religion—no conviction of dependence upon God, or of accountability to him in his existence. Nor can the moral Government of God be separated from each other. If he be, at once, a moral Governor and a Providential Governor, then his Providential Government must subserve moral ends, and his moral Government must have its Providential manifestations. A moral Government without rewards or punishments, is a solecism, an absurdity, the possible existence of which cannot be conceived.

Thus it is with individuals. Thus it is with communities. Man is a social being. He enters Society at his birth, whether he will or no. In Society he remains, while he lives, unless actually separated from his fellows. He is a part of some family, tribe, class, community, or state, having its distinct interests, responsibilities, activities, aims, and characteristics, of which he, himself, is a participant. From Society springs necessarily, Government, polity, restraint, order, either in accordance with justice, or in disregard and violation of it. Thus national action becomes moral action, either good or evil, and, as moral action comes under moral government, nations must either obey God or disobey him—must be either approved or disapproved by him. If there be a moral and a Providential Government of God over mankind, then there must be his conjoint moral and Providential Government over Society, over governments, over communities, states, and nations.

These are elementary first truths of natural and revealed religion. As such they have been recognized by the wise and virtuous of all nations and ages, by philosophers, by prophets, by poets, by statesmen, by historians, by civilians. Within the compass of the "well" literature, with exception, possibly, of a few of the most daring, the most skeptical, the most profligate, these truths have not been discredited, nor denied, nor attempted to be bedeviled, confused, or thrust aside.

The biblical repository and Princeton Review, So far as we know, is entitled to the unenviable distinction of being the first modern religious and professedly Christian and orthodox periodical, that, in the hour of a nation's peril, and when a nation's conscience was touched by a sense of ill, the revelation for national sins, has labored to counteract that salutary sentiment, by casting doubt on the doctrine of national punishments; and by denying the right and duty of calling the nation to repentance for its national sin. How is this to be accounted for, but by the fact that this very periodical has been a constant utterer, on biblical grounds, of that very system of extreme oppression that the awakened public conscience now feels to be our chief national sin, and the manifest moral and political cause of the afflictive and desolating war with which under the Providence of God, we are now visited?

OUR PRESENT INQUIRY.

It is not without proper occasion, therefore, that, after having established by Revelation and reason, the general doctrine of national punishments, we now proceed to show that oppression, and the tolerance of it, are emphatically and manifestly among those national sins for which God visits nations with punishments.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND ITS PUNISHMENTS.

In our argument in proof of the general doctrine of Divine national punishments, a number of particular instances, from the word of God, were introduced. It will be remembered that the most of these related to punishments (among others) for public violations of human rights, in some form. This was not because we were in special search of such instances, but because few instances are found, on the sacred records, of national punishments in which violence, oppression, hardness, cruelty, injustice, and the neglect of public protection of individuals, do not enter into the category of specified national sins—a fact well deserving attention and meditation.

A "SINFUL NATION."

The first chapter of Isaiah's prophecy opens with "the vision which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah."

"Hear, O heavens; and give ear, O earth, for

"CONTINGENT FUND."

This fund is for the circulation of the Principia among the soldiers, officers, and chaplains of our army—missionaries in the southern and western fields—and ministers of the gospel, who will act as agents in extending the circulation of the paper.

Those who contribute are requested to state to which of the above classes they wish their funds applied, or whether they will leave it discretionary with the Trustees.

All donations will be acknowledged through the mail, and receipts for the paper sent to the parties with the donor's name in every case, when practicable.

J. W. ALDEN, Box 4381, N. Y.

ONE HUNDRED AGENTS WANTED!

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J. W. ALDEN, Box 4381, N. Y.

HUMAN DEPRIVATION.

The Divine message continues:—"The whole land is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores; they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment."

This proof text for the hated doctrine of human depravity was first uttered against a "sinful nation" for its national sin. What that sin was, we shall learn, presently. But next comes an announcement of its

NATIONAL PUNISHMENT.

Beholding, in vision, the then future as already present, the inspired seer exclaims:

"Your country is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire. Your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrow by strangers."

"Except the Lord of Hosts has left to us a very small remnant, we should have been like unto Gomorrah. We should have been like unto Sodom."

"PHARISICAL—CENSORIOUS."

Then, as though Sodom and Gomorrah were literally before him, the prophet exclaims:—"Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah."

Had the *Princeton Review* been published, then, in Jerusalem, it would doubtless have said, as it now does:

"There is need for caution, against this pharisaical and censorious spirit!" p. 146.

But Isaiah—it will be said—was divinely inspired.

Truly, he was. But was he inspired with a "pharisaical and censorious spirit?"

pressed, must judge the fatherless, must judge the widow, against those who had injured them. Neglecting to do this, the sword should devour them, for Jehovah had declared it.

The *Principia* Review, in an analogous case, delivers a contrary sentence. If, in this day of our visitation, we relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow, by placing them under the protection of law—in other words—if we make the abolition of slavery a leading point of our policy, the *Review* believes we shall utterly fail—we shall be devoted with the sword! The *Principia* Review hath spoken it!

We proceed with the prophecy of Isaiah.

FURTHER EXPLANATIONS.

The grounds of the Divine sentence are thus amplified.

"How is the faithful city (Jerusalem) become an harlot? It was full of judgment, (justice), righteousness lodged in it, but now murderers. Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water. Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves. Every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards; they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come into them. Therefore, saith the Lord of hosts, the mighty one of Israel, Ah! I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies."

PROTESTS OF PRINCETON.

But, says the *Principia* Review, "Do not the Scriptures, and all experience teach us that God is a Sovereign, that the orderings of his Providence are not determined by justice, but by mysterious wisdom, for the accomplishment of higher ends than mere punishment and reward?" p. 147.

"The legal spirit attributes prosperity to the pious, favor, and adversity to the Divine wrath." p. 142.

What have we here? A mysterious and wise Divine Sovereignty, displacing the administration of Divine justice, for some unknown, unexplained, higher end? A "legal spirit" evidenced by a conflicting belief in the righteous judgments of God among the nations? In the name of good old Puritan orthodoxy, the parent of civil and religious liberty in this country and in England, (as even Hume testifies), we protest against this antinomian corruption and caricature of it, which makes skeptics and heretics, by representing Jehovah himself as a despot, ignoring justice, in his control over mankind!

THEOLOGICAL DISCREPANCY.

"Only one expression of that Spirit of self-righteousness which belongs to our fallen nature—is it? to receive reverently, and to repeat faithfully, the revelation of the righteous judgments of God upon oppressive rulers and nations, in the life that now is, calling them to repentance, as a condition of the divine favor? If this be so, is it not, by the same logic, another and a much stronger expression of the same spirit of self-righteousness? to receive and to repeat, on the same divine testimony, the revelation of the righteous judgments of God, in the life to come, upon the same description of transgressors unless they repent? See Matt. 25: 43, 46. 'Inasmuch as ye did it not, unto one of the least of these—the naked, the hungry, the thirsty, the sick, the imprisoned—ye did it not unto me.' If God's ministers must not, like Isaiah, declare his message, that nations neglecting to relieve the oppressed, shall be devoured by the sword? how shall they dare to repeat the more appalling declaration of Christ, that for the same neglect, men shall 'go away into everlasting punishment?' The *Principia* Review knows what phase of theology it is that complains of the preachers of 'everlasting punishment' as 'pharisaical and censorious'—is it not the doctrine of descending judgment upon the fountain of that Theology by which the same complaint against the preachers of God's temporal punishments? Are such the lessons to be taught hereafter, to the Theological students at Princeton?"

RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Having thus portrayed, described, and defined the corruption, transgression, and guilt of a sinful nation—"laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers" whose prayers and sacrifices Jehovah abhors, as a nation that neglected to "relieve the oppressed"—having threatened the nation with punishment by fire and sword for that sin, exhorting it to repentance and amendment, by administering justice, graciously promising forgiveness and prosperity, as a people, and the enjoyment of "the good of the land" on those easy and reasonable conditions, the Divine message proceeds with this pleasing prediction:

"And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin; and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counselors as at the beginning; after that thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city. Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness. And the destruction of the transgressor, and of the sinners shall be together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be consumed."

A thorough moral and spiritual purification was the first blessing promised. And the first fruit and evidence of it would be a judiciary and a council of statesmen that would impartially administer justice, as in the earlier and purer days of the Commonwealth, in the times of Joshua. Jerusalem would thus be redeemed from the hands of her enemies by the re-establishment of justice, and those of them that returned, with righteousness; while the destruction of the incorrigible and rebellious among them would necessarily have to be consummated.

This is God's revealed method of restoring and reconstructing a sinful nation desolated by war; besieged, and on the verge of overthrow, stricken by the hand of God with these judgments, for having neglected to "relieve the oppressed." What method could be more appropriate, just, and rational? Why should not this "sinful nation" more deeply corrupted than Judah, by the same sin, and reeling like a drunken man, under the same or similar visitations of Divine Providence, avail itself of this message of wisdom from above?

THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE APPROVES IT.

"This is the popular view of the subject," as the *Principia* Review testifies, and "still farther. There never was a time when the public conscience was more disturbed"—and yet again, says the *Review*—"Long lists of passages of Scripture are quoted, threatening the wrath of God on nations and individuals for their sins"—and "We can hardly take up a religious journal, or enter a religious meeting, without being struck with some of its manifestations."

KEEN SENSE OF HERESY.

Time was, when a disturbed public conscience, responding to the Scriptures, calling men to repentance, and giving that tone to religious meetings, and to current Christian literature would hardly have been singled out for suspicion, as indications of heresy. But times have changed. "Old School" has become new ramped. Its "Confession of Faith" has been expurgated of that pestilent heresy of the venerated revolutionary fathers, and of the learned Grotius that slaveholding is man-stealing. Theological seminaries have been founded and greatly enlightened. Before yielding implicitly, therefore, to "long lists of texts" of Scripture, let us listen to

THE WISDOM THAT COMETH FROM PRINCETON.

"We constantly hear the exhortation addressed to the people to confess their sins before God, to humble themselves under his rod, and to put away those evils which have called down upon us the Divine wrath." "This disposition to administer justice is only one expression of that spirit of self-righteousness which belongs to our fallen nature."

An alarming sign of the times, undoubtedly! Again, in treating of the legitimate and proper object of the war, the *Review* says:

The Abolitionists, to a great extent, are for the

war, as a means of putting an end to African slavery, as a means of the restoration of the Union, they would be opposed to it. The same is true to a great extent, with the philanthropists of Europe. Even Count Gasparin, the most enlightened of our contemporaries, contemplates the emancipation of the slave as the object which gives elevation, grandeur and interest to the conflict in which we are now engaged."

Against this sentiment, the *Principia* Review strongly protests.

"If the Constitution and Union could not be preserved without the abolition of slavery, then slavery should, if possible, be abolished."

"To substitute for that object" [i. e. the preservation of the Union and the Constitution] "the abolition of slavery, would, in our judgment, be disastrous, because it would be morally wrong."

"If the abolition of slavery be made, either really or avowedly, the object of the war, we believe we shall utterly fail." pp. 140, 151.

We stop not to examine the *Review's* argument, now. We only state the sentiment, and put it by the side of the explicit declarations of God's Word, by his inspired prophet, Isaiah. How do the two correspond? The question answers itself. They are opposites.

God says, "Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, and your nation shall be preserved. The *Principia* Review, in a like case says, Protect and preserve your nationality, at all hazards, and take heed that you do nothing about seeking the administration of justice or relieving the oppressed. "This disposition to administer justice, is only one expression of that spirit of self-righteousness which belongs to our fallen nature." God commands repentance. The *Principia* Review has no exhortations to repentance, but wears itself to make the impression that, as a nation, we have no special need of repentance, just now, or at least, that the dealings of Divine Providence with us indicate nothing of the kind, and nobody has a right to think so, or to press such convictions on the consciences of others.

Where, within the lids of the Bible, is to be found the book of the prophet of the Lord, after the pattern of the *Principia* Review, or after which it could have copied its sentiments? Name the book and the chapter wherein they are recorded. If the Bible tells of any such, whose prophets were they, and what fragments scraps have been preserved, of their teachings?

If the *Review* had said that Abolitionists are in favor of the war, as a means of restoring the Union without slavery, the statement would have been accurate. They do not conceive a restoration of the Union with slavery, to be either desirable or allowable. It would be a reconstruction of the same national sin for which God is now punishing us.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1863.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

There will be a meeting of the subscribers to the *Principia*, at the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans (Dr. Cheever's) on Union Square, on Monday evening next, April 20th, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of taking measures to extend the circulation of the paper in general, and to increase its usefulness among the officers and soldiers of our armies, in particular, by the dissemination of "sound political information" among them. Remarks will be made by Dr. Cheever, Edward Gilbert Esq., and others.

Every subscriber is requested to be present and bring with him as many friends of the *Principia* as he can influence.

Entrance on 15th Street.

NOTICE.

JOSEPH S. SILLIMAN, of New-Haven, Conn., a highly respectable and intelligent colored man, whose testimonials are ample and satisfactory, will speak on Tuesday evening of next week, in the Church of the Puritans (Dr. Cheever's), on Union Square, giving a narrative of his eventful life, and especially of his wonderful escape from slavery, and his perils on the ocean—also of the kidnapping of his mother, who was freed, at Cape Cod, at the age of twelve years, and of her enslavement in North Carolina, for many years, after which she was emancipated.

The account will undoubtedly be one of thrilling interest. Admittance free—and a collection for the benefit of the narrative, will be taken, at the close.

Twenty-Ninth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society.—The Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Church of the Puritans (Rev. Dr. Cheever's) in the City of New York, on Tuesday, May 12th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The Society will hold another public meeting in the evening, in the Cooper Institute, commencing at half past 7 o'clock.

The business meetings of the Society will be held in the Lecture Room of the Church of the Puritans, on Tuesday, at 3 1/2 P. M., and on Wednesday, at 10, A. M.

The Anniversary Sermon before the Church Anti-Slavery Society will be on Sabbath evening, May 10th, at 7 o'clock, in the Church of the Puritans, by Rev. Dr. Cheever.

By order of the Sec. of the Church Anti-Slavery Society.

HABIT AND GUILT OF IGNORING THE RIGHTS OF THE ENSLAVED.

Our great sin before God, in the present struggle is that of national selfishness, and a cruel regard of others, interests and rights, pursuing only our own rights and our own interests. We have intimidated, and declared, for years, that freedom belongs only to the whites, that our battle was only for the supremacy of the white race and caste, and that we had no right to interfere, not even by the urging and pressure of moral arguments, in behalf of the rights of the enslaved, for that the rights of the so-called owners of the slaves were superior to the rights of the enslaved, and were not to be interfered with. We admitted, till it had come to be a settled article, with nearly all parties, that the slave states, and the slaveholders in those states, were in possession of vested rights, by their own custom and practice among themselves, and for the security of their own slave property, which vested rights, the rights of piracy by law, we might not meddle with, even by the proclamation of God's law, not even by the agitation of the moral question!

It is a monstrous assumption, almost every where made, and by dint of eternal assertion, hammered into a political and moral truth, that slave property in the slave states is guaranteed and protected by the Constitution, and that therefore we have no authority, even with the Word of God to interfere with such property, that is to say, no authority and no right to labor for the rescue of the victims of such oppression, no right even to assert that the slaves have any right to be free, or that there is any obligation upon the slave states or the slaveholders to set them free, or that indeed any obligation whatever rests even upon us, in a time of peace, but just that of aiding and confirming the slave states and the slaveholders in the perpetual perpetration and protection of their assumed property in human flesh.

Hence, the very best speech ever of Republican Orators, and of those who profess the largest zeal for liberty, are tainted to the core, with this leprosy of selfishness and cruelty, and of that timidity, even in their own cause, which is always the accompaniment of such treachery towards God and humanity. They always thought it necessary to guard against any suspicion of abolitionism or any intention of interfering against slavery, where slavery already exists. Hence in so many of the Annual Messages of the Governors even of the Free States, there are so many assurances of their determination to uphold for their Southern brethren (meaning by this the three hundred thousand slaveholders, and not intending to intimate the possibility of consider-

ing the four millions of human beings held in the South in slavery, as our brethren) to uphold for their Southern brethren their "Constitutional vested rights." Hence the gratuitous declarations so often made, of the alacrity with which they would execute the Fugitive Slave Bill, and in particular cases that might be named, the additional assurance that if the existing Bill were found imperative, or should be repealed, they would cheerfully go in for a stronger Bill in behalf of the vested rights of our Southern Brethren to claim and secure, to have and to hold, four millions of human beings with their descendants forever, as chattels, to labor and to torture, to defraud of their just wages, to buy and to sell, to execute upon them a vast bill of attainder, forbidden in the Constitution, but condemning all the descendants of these four millions of chattels, as if, by penalty for crime, to a condition of taint and misery, which the Constitution forbids to be inflicted, even for the worst of crimes in the parents upon any human being born into the world, under dominion of the Constitution.

Any thing that opposes and condemns these pretended vested rights to a system of piracy and its perpetuity, or that presumes to drive the Constitution and the Word of God against it; any thing that goes against slavery, because it is slavery, a guilt and crime where it prevails, worthy, by the sentence of the Almighty, of the punishment of death; anything that definitely and plainly, or even by implication, goes for the deliverance of those who are now enslaved, or for the freedom of those who are daily being born into slavery contrary to the provision in the Constitution, that no such being can be born under such attainder; anything and every thing that looks to and labors for the freedom and the rights of those human beings now claimed as property by vested right; any such thing is branded and denied as being, in a time of peace, unconstitutional, and not to be confessed or admitted as any part of the creed of any party expecting or intending to come into the possession of this government. And any persons who distinctly and definitely, in the name of God, humanity, and the Constitution, claim for the blacks and the enslaved the right of freedom, and assert the obligation upon the whites to secure to them such freedom, are marked, are branded as fanatics, whose names politicians nor prudent sailors will admit to their communion.

Where, within the lids of the Bible, is to be found the book of the prophet of the Lord, after the pattern of the *Principia* Review, or after which it could have copied its sentiments? Name the book and the chapter wherein they are recorded. If the Bible tells of any such, whose prophets were they, and what fragments scraps have been preserved, of their teachings?

If the *Review* had said that Abolitionists are in favor of the war, as a means of restoring the Union without slavery, the statement would have been accurate. They do not conceive a restoration of the Union with slavery, to be either desirable or allowable. It would be a reconstruction of the same national sin for which God is now punishing us.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

Was it for freedom or for slavery?—Shall it be construed for the latter?

This may seem a strange question, but the time has come when it must be looked in the face.

When the Proclamation of September 22 was issued, it was hailed both for slavery and for freedom. The *Herald* said it was for slavery—a friendly notice to the slaveholders, showing them how to save their imperilled institution, by hastening back into the arms and under the protection of the "Union, as it was" before the rebellion. The *Tribune*, at first, hailed it as a proclamation of freedom, but, presently after, inclined to accept the exposition of the *Herald*, or, at least, to wait the event, and welcome it in whatever shape it might turn up, whether as a means of restoring the Union with slavery, or as an instrument, with the help of the liberated slaves, of crushing the rebellion. The *Principia* anxiously inquired—Is it a fish, or a serpent? an egg, or a scorpion?

Time rolled on, the Rebellion continued. The Proclamation of January 1st, redeeming the President's promise in part, was generally considered, as it was by the *Principia*—the beginning of a movement for freedom. The *Herald*, nevertheless, always claiming to be in the secret of the President's intentions, persisted in claiming it for slavery—at the least, if the slaveholders would only accept it as such, which with an air of semi-official authority, it invited them to do.

The language of the Proclamation warrants the construction in favor of unqualified freedom in all the States and Districts therein specified. It was thus understood in Europe, and has accordingly, greatly benefited us, in that quarter. But the low principle upon which the measure was avowedly based, that of military necessity, has been a dead weight upon it, tending to drag it down, and deplete it of its sacredness, its glory, its inviolability. The President, under special pressure of opportunity, had consented to insert in the document, the word "justice"—but the question soon arose, did he mean, "justice" to the slave? The President, under the same pressure, admitted, in conversation, the propriety and wisdom of appointing officers to carry out the Proclamation, who were in favor of the measure. But did he do it? The very reverse! He appointed Butler, at New Orleans, by Banks. To this hour, influenced, it is said, by Halleck, he neglects giving an appointment to Fremont. For a long time, the Proclamation was not officially communicated to the Commanders, as an Army Order; little, if anything, is doing, at the seat of Government to give it effect, and whether any efficient will be done, is still, after three months, a grave political question, awaiting decision by future elections, and depending on the apparent direction of the popular breeze. In the meantime, opposition has been at flood tide, and though now subsiding, has left marks, where least expected, of its effects. One prominent abolitionist, Gerrit Smith, gives in his address to the policy of Pres. Lincoln's letter to Horace Greeley, namely, that emancipation is to be resorted to, only in those localities where it will help to suppress the rebellion.—Wendell Phillips, though still counselling general emancipation, concedes to the states the Constitutional state right of re-establishing slavery, as soon as the rebellion is put down, and peace and Union restored, providing only that the same slaves that had been emancipated by the Proclamation shall not be re-enslaved.

Horace Greeley, thus pioneered, and improving upon the hints thus furnished, proposes, virtually, a reconstruction of the Union, rebel states and all, notwithstanding the Proclamation, with the right to retain slavery, stipulating only that slaves actually within our lines and fighting for us, shall be protected from re-enslavement.

All this shows a strong tendency to evade the Proclamation of freedom, on the basis of the *Herald's* exposition of it, and not beyond the reach of approbation by the *World*, the *Express*, and the *Journal of Commerce*, if the rebels will agree to it, and lay down their arms.

Against this exposition and programme we protest, in the name of justice, liberty, humanity, and the plighted faith of the nation.

The Proclamation, if this were its true exposition—which we do not admit—we deliberately declare would be a fraud, a conspiracy, deserving the execration of mankind, the boasting of all honorable men.

Look at it, and see how it would work, in detail.

Wherever, in the slave states, the present fact or the surer prospect of speedy occupancy by the Federal forces, compels the slaveholders to profess loyalty, there and then, of course, their profession of loyalty shelters them from Emancipation.

It is only where the rebel forces hold firm possession and control, that the Proclamation is applicable.

For example, New Orleans is now held by Federal forces. It is called loyal, of course. Slavery is protected there, of course. Other parts of Louisiana, being in the hands of the rebels, come under the proclamation of freedom, but it is of no value to the slave, because his master holds him, securely, under the Confederacy.

Suppose the circumstances changed. Suppose

New Orleans should be re-occupied and held by the rebel troops; Slavery would, of course, be continued, there, as at present. In the meantime, suppose the other portions of Louisiana now in arms against the Government should come to be occupied by Federal troops, the slaveholders would profess loyalty, of course, and so continue their slaveholding.

While Fort Mollay, overlooking Baltimore keeps Baltimore loyal, slavery in Baltimore enjoys Federal tolerance and protection. Whenever the rebels get possession, the slaves will be held in subjection under the authority and protection of the Confederacy.

So of every other city, County, or square mile, in the slave states. If the whole Southern Country becomes "loyal" under the force of Federal arms, then the whole Southern Country, being thus reduced to loyalty, remains a slave country under authority and protection of the Federal Government. If the whole Southern Country becomes independent of the United States, then the whole Southern Country remains a slave country, under the authority of the Confederacy.

If only the Border States, under force of Federal arms, submit and become loyal, then the Border States remain slave states, under Federal protection, unless they consent to accept of the proffered compensation and abolish slavery.

In that case, the result of the war, so far as slavery is concerned, will only be that a part of the slaves will be held, as such, under Federal authority, and a part of them under Confederate authority.

More cunningly devised plan for the perpetuity of slavery could not be devised. How, and ever the war might terminate, slavery would thus be secured!

CONSTITUTIONAL SLAVERY.

ITS ABSURDITY.

The blundering absurdities into which men plunge, the moment they concede to human government the right of enacting mischief by a law, were never better exemplified than in the doctrines promulgated by some of the emancipation speakers in Great Britain, who maintain the constitutionality of American Slavery. For instance, we have the following language in a speech of Mr. Charles Robertson, at the Great Emancipation Meeting in Liverpool.

Speaking of the alleged rights of the slaveholding States, assumed to be rights by the Constitution, and believed by this speaker to be such, he says:

"They had the unrestricted right to perpetrate wrong on 4,000,000 of human beings; the right of doing wrong, the right of doing wrong, to those within their own jurisdiction, was never denied to them; this *extremest exercise of liberty*, which some men would call the *wild flights of liberty*, but which I maintain to be *her fundamental right*, though its most daring range."

Even the spread-eagles of America must yield the palm before this example of sublimity and profundity in the definition of liberty, and the tracing of her right.

Daring range indeed! Sublime eloquence in its description! But our State moralists and politicians drop all this rhetoric, and come down to plain logic and matter of fact as dry as Malaga, plumply pronouncing the enslavement of its own citizens by each State as an inadmissible right of State sovereignty. They do not put it upon the abstract "right of doing wrong, the right of doing wrong, to those within their own jurisdiction," as being "the fundamental right of liberty, and its most daring range," but they content themselves with the fact, maintaining it to be constitutional.

But this British speaker comes in, to the aid of our Constitutional moralists of the right of slavery in this country, who throw themselves only on the Constitution, and appeal to no profounder philosophy or higher law, and does them the great service of maintaining slavery to be, in itself, not only the fundamental right, but highest right of liberty, its sublimest and most daring range.

We regret to say that it is not a whit more consistent with his logic than our Northern defenders of slavery as guaranteed in the Constitution are with theirs; for, like them, being thoroughly anti-slavery, he falls to berating the rebel slaveholding Confederacy at a terrible rate, and declares that if the government of Great Britain should by any possibility agree to recognize that Confederacy, it would be the sanction of the most horrid crimes, the sanction of the right of the Confederate government to build its independence upon human slavery as its corner-stone. It would be a recognition of the rightfulness of human slavery, and a confession that the rebel Confederacy

"is right in maintaining it, and right in extending it, and right in attempting to compel the community to recognize the right of property in man in its fullest, and right in demanding the power to degrade the national tribunals and organs of justice by converting them into man-hunters, and the power to outrage the highest instincts of humanity and justice by committing to prison entire families in the light of day, and in the presence of humiliated citizens, of men who had committed no crime, but who, by their black skins, and dared to call their bodies and their souls their own."

All this is indisputably the right any sovereignty of which an essential element is the right of human slavery.

Now the query comes up, if, as this speaker maintains, the right of doing wrong to those within their own jurisdiction is the right of each State, and the enslavement of the citizens is the fundamental right and highest right of liberty and of State sovereignty, and if, as our pro-slavery interpreters of the Constitution maintain, it is a right guaranteed by the Constitution, whence this outcry against the rebel Confederacy for exercising it?

All these silly, and so roughly denounced, and indignantly repudiated rights of Sovereignty of which an inadmissible constitutional and essential element is the right of human slavery.

A sovereign State that has the right to enslave "any of its whites or all its free blacks" cannot consistently be denounced for exercising that right, or detesting it. The right of opposing others is the fundamental right of liberty, in transatlantic vision, in the rapture of spread-eagles and anti-slavery enthusiasm; and it is a Constitutional Sovereign State right according to the Constitution, in the opinion of those who affirm the Constitution to be an instrument guaranteeing the right of slaveholding. How then can any of them say one word against the rebel Confederacy? That right is all that this Confederacy claims; and that right admitted, it is of course supreme, and if endangered, the Confederacy is right in maintaining it, for nothing can stand before it.

NATIONAL AND GOVERNMENTAL AMUSEMENTS.

THE POWERS THAT BE HAVE from time to time, indulged in wonderful freaks for recreation. Nero's falling, while Rome was burning, the flames dancing, the music, for a new sensation of sublimity and power in the august governmental field, is proverbially quite at the head of such instances.

This method of refreshment for the throne, is however by no means so grand as our modern republican simplicity has invented, besides the latter being at the same time a source of revenue. The enslaving of the citizens is, it seems, the highest Constitutional rapture, being one of the reserved powers and rights of a Sovereign State, or of State Sovereignty, with which the people cannot interfere, but can only hold themselves in readiness to minister, to the riches and enjoyment of the State, in the practice of Slavery, in the demonstration and development of this

supreme abstract sovereign right. It is a governmental amusement.

The rebel Confederacy are paying a high price for it, just now, but we are proposing to make it a luxury, as common as snow on Mount Washington. The following note in reference to it is too good to be lost, and though the thing happened last week, we print it, because its suggestions are really excellent, especially that this republican governmental amusement be tried first, and at once, upon those who have petitioned to the Legislature for its renewal.

New York, April 7, 1863.

Rev. Dr. Under the head of "Amusements" in the advertising columns of to-day's *Tribune*, I see an announcement of a lecture by you on the subject "Can a State enslave its own citizens?" Of course it can, as is witnessed by a memorial presented by some business men to the present Legislature of our State, praying for the restoration of slavery in this State!

Our builders who employ so many hod-carriers, will assuredly vote for its restoration, as they can then get their bricks and mortar carried for nothing, beyond a coddling, which will afford exercise to the muscles of the boss's arms, while paying their wages. Paddy himself will vote for limiting slavery to persons of African descent, and to make it doubly sure, will insist that all of descent be included in the new law.

I trust you will not mar the project by insisting that Paddy is himself of the lineage from Africa. Paddy claims of himself as being descended from the Phoenicians, and would knock down any one who would dare to question it.

New Phoenicia is in Africa, it is as clear as mud, that Paddy is of African Descent; and must therefore desire to be well cared for in his old age, under the shade of the patriarchal institution. Bridget also partakes of this sentiment strongly, and goes in for restoring slavery to secure her own undisputed right to the Kitchen.

Although the writer is personally unknown to you, yet you will at once perceive he is

SOUND ON THE GOOSE.

THE HYPOCRISY AND MEANNESS OF AN APOLOGY FOR ABOLITIONISM.

These men that apologize for their new born anti-slavery sentiments, and hasten to tell us that it is not principle, but political expediency that constrains them to the change, need not be so anxious to avoid the charge of being actuated by conscience of what is right. No person ever suspected them of bearing such a burden, or of being the subjects of such convictions of right and wrong. They are in no danger of being set down as fanatics. And they would be wise not to make such unseemly haste to purge themselves before hand of any sympathy with abolitionism, because, even before they are aware, they may wish they had kept their own counsel, and reserved their fire.

They should keep on the fence as long as they can, for ten to one, jumping now, they jump on the wrong side. Some of them labor to prove, by their antecedents, that they always opposed abolitionism, and must not now, because they oppose slavery, be imagined capable of any regard for the blacks. It is only under constraint, and under protest, that they seem to be philanthropists, whereas, such an intention or imagination never entered into their heads. They assure the public that they are as destitute of benevolence as ever, and as much determined to keep religion out of politics.

"They glory in their shame." That class of patriots does not exist merely in the Pauline description. They boast themselves of their moral obligations. They remind us of public beggars, uncovering their sores. But they need not make themselves thus naked; it is quite a superfluity of naughtiness to show their deformities.

It must be confessed that, as a nation, we want sincerity. We are extremely anxious to gain the reputation of generosity, without doing justice, and of repentance without reformation and restitution. There is no reformation of our sins, and yet there is a great pretence of turning from them. We applaud ourselves for the policy of emancipation, when we are merely using the slaves as ballast to trim our ship, or as cargo, a part of which may be thrown overboard in a storm, in order that we may get into port with the rest. We take slavery from the rebels, to apply it to our own state purposes. It is as if, supposing Jonah had been an idol of gold, which they were conveying to Tarshish, the mariners, instead of casting him into the sea, had thrown him from his berth in the cabin down into the hold, and covered him up there, and then professed that they had purged themselves of their offenses, having adopted and followed them, as part and parcel of the cargo. Or as if Joshua had taken the golden wafers from the camp of Achan, and moulded them into an image, and set them up for worship, in the tent of the Commander-in-Chief.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The question is up for discussion, and this time it will not be half settled, whether our Constitution is a Constitution for freedom or slavery. The Constitution is still the bone of contention, even among friends, the friends of liberty and of the slave. Say rather, the interpretation of the Constitution, whether it shall be interpreted in favor of liberty or of slavery. The party of the first part say that it is an acknowledged maxim of all just jurisprudence and construction that, first of all, if there be an article proclaiming freedom, but also an article proclaiming slavery, the article of freedom is first of all to be fulfilled, and the friends of freedom are bound to throw themselves unflinchingly on that, excluding the article in behalf of slavery, till the claim of freedom be satisfied, and above all, excluding the article in behalf of slavery from any power or prestige in the interpretation of the whole.

Second, that if the article in behalf of freedom is clear, while the article in behalf of slavery is doubtful, the doubt shall not only demand the claim of slavery, but confirm the claim of freedom, going to make the latter positive and universal, the former questionable, and therefore null and void, on the indisputable ground laid down by Lord Mansfield, that the state of slavery is so contrary to natural right and justice, that nothing but the clearest, most explicit positive law can justify its tolerance.

For example, as to the matter of doubt, if liberty is named, if it is likewise so described by its elements and rights, that there is no possibility of doubting what it means, that article is to be executed at all hazards. But if slavery is not named by name, nor described by its personal elements of chattelhood, ownership of the person by another, as property and merchandise, it cannot be supposed to be meant, and the article cannot be executed as meaning what it does not name, no more than the punishment for murder could be executed upon a criminal, whose crime is not named nor described as being murder, and who is not accused of having killed another.

To introduce constructive slavery into a Constitution which names and describes liberty as its object, liberty as the right of every person, liberty as secured by it to every person; to introduce constructive slavery into such a Constitution, without its being named or described, without there being any allegation or intimation of that being one of the objects of the Constitution, to introduce it on the supposition of its being intended though not named, or to construct it by inference

Family Miscellany.

THE SLAVE MARKET.

BY THE LATE REV. CHARLES MACKAY, ST. JOHNS, NEW BRUNSWICK.

Cesar, a child of Africa's burning strand,
Went down, in youth, from home and native land;
And, often groaning underneath his load,
He prayed, in anguish, to his heavenly God.

But he was led to hear the Gospel's sound,
A missionary preached, and Cesar found
That Jesus Christ, who came the lost to save,
Was willing to receive a wretched slave.

This truth believed, did happiness impart
To Cesar's poor, forlorn, beauteous heart,
And oft with Christians, at the close of day,
He met to rest, to meditate, and pray.

But Cesar's master saw the wondrous change
With anxious heart, and soon he found revenge;
For on the slave he laid the dire command
That he no more should meet the Christian band.

But Cesar cried: "O miss! no love the God,
He must obey Him; no man love the rod;
He rather let his body suffer pain,
Than never meet my Christian friends again."

"Give him three dozen," said the haughty lord,
And instantly the slaves obeyed his word;
They bound poor Cesar with a scarlet lash,
And soon his body writhed beneath the lash.

The master wildly gazed while Cesar bled,
And then, with glacial eyes, thus taunting said:
"What can your Christ do now? He cannot save!"
He made me bear it, Massa," said the slave.

The master, maddened by this answer mild,
With fury seized the scourge and struck the child;
His back he ploughed with many a fearful lash,
Till, faint himself, at last he dropped the lash.

And then he cried again, with stony brow:
"What can your Jesus Christ do for you now?"
He made me pray for you," the slave replied—
Then dropped his head upon his breast—and died.

A WISH FOR SPRING.

The frost-petals shine on the windows
The snow lies deep in the park;
The chilly days have no comfort,
And the nights are long and dark.

The winds in the chimney are moaning,
With wild and plaintive cries;
And there's no blink of blue in the heavens,
To gladden my wistful eyes.

How I wish that the storms of winter
Would roll from the hills away,
And the pretty showers of April
Would bring the sweet flowers of May!

How I long for the voice of the cuckoo,
(The harbinger of Spring)
And to watch the merry blue-cups
On the aspen-blossoms sing.

O! to welcome the wandering swallow,
(The sign of the balmy air),
And the wild bee that comes from the fox-glove,
The golden honey to bear!

And to see high up on the chestnut
The gleam of the amber buds,
And to gather a rattled oak-branch
From the heart of the fragrant woods.

O! when shall I find the violets
In mossy hollows born,
Or the fairy trumpets of woodbine
That lovingly clasp the thorn!

Or see the silver willow,
That trembles like a fountain of light,
Or the dewdrops hanging like jewels
About the feet of night!

I would twine the flowers and blossoms
With star-like leaves of the tree,
In graceful and loving garland,
For their dear mother, for thee!

While we talked like a fountain of light,
Like a blossom from the bough—
Our dear little angel spirit,
That lives in Paradise now.

And we'd murmur the song that pleased her,
Of the land where the violets blow,
As from father's arms she seemed springing,
With her little hands folded like snow.

And perhaps she would then be smiling,
In the land beyond the snow,
And we'd hear heavenly harp-strings
For the dear ones that suffer below.

Susan Gibson.

A LITTLE GRAVE.

A little grave where daisies grow:
A little body lying low:
That is all the world may know.
But our hearts

Hold a baby sweet and fair,
A little child with sunny hair,
Child of tender love and care—
Minnie, Minnie!

In the sweet spring of her day,
We gave her to the lonely clay,
From our tear-dimmed eyes away.
How we loved her, none can tell;
They who have loved like us well,
Loved and lost none may tell—
Minnie, Minnie!

Wistful shadows in her eyes,
Like the dreamy haze that lies
Trembling in the summer skies:
And the burden of a fear,
All unspoken, yet so near,
Fell on us, that weary year—
Minnie, Minnie!

Shrinking from the children's glee,
Keeping close to mother's knee,
Or in arms that tenderly
Watched her fading, faded she—
Faded she, our blossom fair,
Child of tender love and care—
Minnie, Minnie!

Swift the seasons come and go:
Thickly fall the drifting snow,
O'er a little grave we know:
But her feet
Have passed in at a peony door,
Have trod the shining golden floor,
Fair and fearless evermore—
Minnie, Minnie!

—Chamber's Journal.

THE CHILDREN OF THE COVENANT,
OR, THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY.

BY MRS. MARIA GODDELL FROST.

CHAPTER XIV.

MISS DENSY'S TEST.

"So it seems Clarence is going off to school," said Miss Denney, as she sat in the kitchen door of the parsonage, with her sun-bonnet in her lap, and her rusty looking umbrella by her side, one very sultry August afternoon.

"Yes, we talk of sending him to commence the fall term."

"Well, I hope it will be for the best, but I don't know about this sending children away from home. He might get into bad company; it would be such a pity to have him led away, now," said Miss Denney, opening the great green work-bag, as she spoke, to turn out some trifles she had brought over, to give to Frank.

"There," said she, "are them black-eyed susans, and a few small sea shells. I wouldn't have given 'em to anybody else, for I've had 'em, ever since I was knee high, and they have been in my big blue chest, for years; but Frank is so fond of looking at them, I thought they might as well be in his cabinet, as he calls it."

"Thank you, Miss Denney," said Frank; "how very curious they are. There are many more kinds of shell in the sea, are there not?"

"Yes, child, more kinds than we can count. I suppose God has made 'em and hid 'em away down there, out of sight, nobody can tell why, as I know of."

"I must go and arrange them, in my cabinet," said Frank. "Clarence and Mabel will be surprised to see such a collection."

"Will you sit in the other room, Miss Denney?" said Mrs. Stanley.

"No, it's cooler here, and if you will let me, I will look over the boy's stockings, and see about taking some of 'em home, to foot up, again it comes cold weather again."

"You are very thoughtful, Miss Denney."

"Well, I s'pose I am. It comes natural for me to take time by the forelock, as they say; and that's what's fetched me over, to-day. I thought I would spend in season, about some new shirts for Clarence."

But Miss Denney, laying her hand gently on Mrs. Stanley's arm. "It's been a bleachin' out under my bed-room window, this three weeks. You see I wanted it where I could watch it close. Some of the folks said it ought to be bleached cloth, but I told 'em it wouldn't wear well, and I knew I could whiten it out so that nobody would know the difference, and it's lookin' beautiful."

Miss Simpson bought it, and Mrs. Gladden and Seth Perry's wife are just about quarrelling which of 'em shall get the linen. I told Mrs. Gladden, says I: 'Liddy Ann, there ain't no kind of use quarrellin' about that linen; there's other things wantin' to fit the boy out, besides shirts.' Says she, 'What is there?' Says I, 'why, there's stockings, Liddy Ann, and pocket handkerchiefs, and felled cloth, for them that's able to get it. And then there's beddin'. Each boy is to furnish his own room, at them boarding-schools, and it ain't likely Miss Stanley's got a bed to spare, let alone sheets, and pillow-cases, and such things.'

"Good!" says Liddy Ann, 'let's get up a bee!' Says I, 'go ahead!'

"This is a very unexpected favor to me," said Mrs. Stanley, when Miss Denney was obliged to pause, to catch her breath.

"Well, I reckoned likely it would be, but you see folks have taken a likin' to Clarence. He is such a wonderful boy. It's best to let them do what they will, while the fit is on; there is no knowin' how long it will last," and Miss Denney sighed, when she thought of the instability of human attachments.

"Mabel and I were speaking of the shirts, to-day. I thought she could sew on the plain parts, after they were cut out."

"Charlotte's got a pattern, right from the city. She says it's lovely. I was into her shop this very morning, to see about it. There was Natty Woodbridge and Laura Pratt in there, trying on head-dresses; and when I told them that the shirts were for Clarence Stanley, they spoke up—you know how thoughtless Natty is—said she, 'Well, Miss Denney, if I ain't old noddle enough to do the stitching, Laura is.' Natty felt sorry in a minute, for Laura dared right up about it, and said she guessed she shouldn't touch them."

"Says I, 'the time, when I could best anybody a stitchin', but now my eyes don't serve me for such particular work.' 'Well, never mind,' says Natty, 'Miss Denney, I will try my hand at it, and if you do call me an old maid, for my pains, I shall not care.'"

By this time Miss Denney had sorted over the stockings, mending some, and unraveling others, and now, filling her pockets and work-bag, was rising to go.

"Do not be in haste, Miss Denney. Stay the afternoon," said Mrs. Stanley.

"Well, I don't care if I do stay, and I knit a piece. It's only three o'clock, and I ought to foot one before night."

"Here are some needles, in my basket," said Mrs. Stanley.

"I have been wanting to ask you," said Miss Denney, in a confidential tone, as she drew her chair close to Mrs. Stanley, "if you have the same feelings about Frank that you had about Clarence, at his age?"

"I cannot say that I have that strong faith, and it often troubles me that I have not; but I do not mean to attach too much importance to feelings, in religious matters."

"Frank is a good child, I think; a very good child. I like him now better than I ever did Clarence. He isn't so full of mischief you know."

"You do not know Frank as you do Clarence. He is a very peculiar boy. Clarence shows exactly what he is, to every one. Frank is, I fear, less ingenuous. I do mean that he is deceitful. I do not detect him in falsehoods, but he has not the free and loving confidence of his brother. I hope to see, in his case, the full salvation of the Lord, but I hope with some trembling, lest I may come short of the blessing, for want of faith, as did the unbelieving Israelites in the wilderness. I believe it will be to me according to the measure of my faith."

"I was speaking to his Sabbath-school teacher, about him, not long ago, and he said there was not a better boy in the class."

"No doubt he learns his lessons, and recites well, but on the subject of his own religious necessities he is perfectly unapproachable. I do not speak to him often. I think he will be more influenced by example than precept. On his account I regret having Clarence away, more than any other. The daily life of Clarence is worth more to Frank than a volume of lectures on the subject of religion could possibly be."

"That is very likely," said Miss Denney. While this conversation was taking place in the house, the children were out of doors under the fruit trees.

Frank had arranged his cabinet, and then gone out to find Clarence and Mabel.

"What are you doing, out here?" said Mabel.

"Come into the house. I want to show you something."

"We cannot come, now, Frank," said Clarence; "we are very busy; we want to accomplish a great deal before supper time."

"Dull business, I should say," said Frank, in a disappointed tone.

Mabel was seated in the garden-chair, with a basket of fruit in her lap, which she was rapidly stoning, and then spreading on a board, to dry.

"I did not suppose there were people in this town that were destitute of Bibles," said Clarence. "It would be a missionary work to supply them."

"To be sure it would; and it ought to be done." "But there, we have emptied the basket, and I guess by the time we get into the house, and get washed up, supper will be ready," said Miss Denney.

"Had we not better carry in the fruit?" said Clarence.

"No, Mabel; the sun is quite high yet," said Clarence.

"They will dry a good share, to-night, it is so warm," said Miss Denney. "I shouldn't hurry them in."

Mrs. Stanley had just stepped to the door, to call the group, as she saw them coming toward the house with their empty basket and pails.

"You've gone and made mischief, this hot night!" said Miss Denney. "I am sorry. I never want folks to fuss any more."

"I thought you liked my warm rolls," said Mrs. Stanley, "and I must have a fire for the tea, you know."

"O, well, they are nice, to be sure, and they won't go a beggin'," said Miss Denney, taking her seat.

"I have been getting rich, fast, since Miss Denney came out under the trees," said Frank.

"I do not know what we should all do, without Miss Denney," said his mother.

After ten, Miss Denney said she must go home. Mrs. Stanley said that Frank should go and carry her umbrella.

"Did you think it was going to rain, to-day?" asked Frank.

"No, I brought it for a sun-shade," said Miss Denney, "but you need not carry it. I shall stop on the road to do some errands, and it isn't far. So good night."

those days we had quite a library, but it won't be much, since your father's study, that's lined with books enough for two or three generations."

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From the Congregationalist.

THE CHILD AND THE WOMAN;
OR SUGAR VERSUS SODA.

When I was a little boy, and my parents moved into a neighborhood of strangers, I was greatly delighted with a new acquaintance, a little girl who lived at the next door. Kate Larkin—for so I choose to call her—was a year older than myself, but our united ages then only amounted to nine years; so our friendship as you see was a very juvenile affair after all. Yet on my part the liking was very strong; and as Kate professed an equal fondness for me, I thought her just the sweetest child in all the world.

Unfortunately for my comfort, as I was sometimes taken to early tea for me to spend most of my time at my neighbors; consequently, I could not play with Kate as much as I wished. But there was only a board fence between her father's yard and ours, and although it was too high for us to climb, there was room between the boards for food looks, kisses, and candy, to be mutually reciprocated.

One morning when I was not feeling well, as usual, my mother declined letting me go out to see my little friend. But my nursery commanded a view of our neighbor's yard; and there I saw Kate making signals to me. I raised the sash quickly. "What is it, Kate?" "I want you, Willie. I can't play out to-day." "Come just a minute; I've got something good for you." "What is it?" "Bring it up here, will you?" "No, you must come down for it—I'll give it to you through the fence." There was no peace until I had persuaded my mother to permit my going down for a moment.

"Do you love sugar, Willie?" said my character. "Yes, to be sure, Kate." "Well, I have a nice lump for you; open your mouth and shut your eyes; and you shall have it." I followed directions with implicit confidence, and closed my lips upon—a lump of soda. And so ended my first friendship. I could not join again those links of broken confidence.

Nearly twenty years after, I was spending a short vacation with college friends at Clinton. "Brown," said my classmate, "I want you to make a call with me this evening and see my lady-love. I know you'll like her; she's one of the sweetest girls I ever saw." "I'm not fond of sweets," was my brief reply. However, I was persuaded to go; and not having enquired the name, was surprised with an introduction to "Kate Larkin." Her parents had removed to Clinton, my boyhood, and I had not remembered the place to which they went.

She did not recollect me.—Brown is not a very peculiar name—and though I soon recognized the witching smile and bright black eyes of my boyhood's idol, I remembered the soda, and "made no mistake."

Yet I watched Miss Larkin quietly; and soon made up my mind that her youth had not changed the characteristics of her childhood. "What is that Mr. Manning to your lady-love, eh?" I asked, as we were returning. "Oh, Manning is a bore; Kate can't endure him, hardly. But he's a ward of her uncle; and she's obliged to help entertain him." "Is he rich, perchance?" "Yes, Kate calls him the golden calf. He has many a laugh at his expense after we get rid of him, of an evening." "Take care, boy, that he does not make you laugh out of the wrong side of your mouth, yet; he's evidently smitten with your 'innamorate,' and I, for one, distrust your sweet Kate." "Pshaw! Willie Brown; do you think you can make me believe that?" "I shall tell you the green-eyed monster, I assure you. It is true there is no engagement between myself and Kate; she will never be bound till she goes to the altar," she says. But she has confessed her love, and allows me all the privileges of an accepted suitor, and if I cannot trust her for the rest, I am, as she avers, not worthy of her."

"Very well, then, I shall not more. 'Forewarned is forearmed,' you know. I have done my duty." And we parted.

Three months later I saw in the public papers the announcement of a marriage between "Kate Larkin and Julius Manning, Esq., the only son and heir of our late wealthy and distinguished fellow-citizen, Nicholas Manning."

So Kate had bowed, as I predicted, to the golden calf; and my poor clown, having closed his eyes as I did, had been fed with soda instead of sugar.

In these times of public confusion and distress, we hear occasionally a soft and dulcet voice among us, pleading for peace. "Stop the war," it says. "Are we not brethren? There is no enmity between North and South, which cannot be settled by mutual explanation and concession. Yield our southern brethren their constitutional rights; guarantee them against future interference; and they will come back to us, and our glorious Union will be saved. Or, if you cannot quite consent to that, at least lay down the sword, and call a convention to negotiate terms of peace."

What a beautiful idea! A little seven-year-old inquired of her mother, a few days since, if the wind didn't whistle for the leaves to dance by.

THE BOY WHO CONQUERED.

Some few years ago, a lad who was left without father or mother, of good natural abilities, went to New-York, alone and friendless, to get a situation in a store as errand-boy, or otherwise, until he could command a higher position; but this boy had been in bad company, and had got in the habit of calling for his "bottlers" occasionally, because he thought it looked manly. He smoked cheap cigars at so.

He had a pretty good education, and on looking over the morning papers, he noticed that a merchant in Pearl street wanted a lad of his age, and he called there and made his business known.

"Walk into the office, my lad," said the merchant. "I'll attend to you soon."

When he had waited for his customer, he took a seat near the lad, and he espied a cigar in his hat. "This was enough," said the boy; "I want a smart, honest, faithful lad; but I see that you smoke cigars, and in my experience of many years, I have ever found cigar-smoking lads to be connected with various other evil habits, and if I am not mistaken, your breath is an evidence that you are not an exception. You can leave; you will not suit me."

John (this was his name) held down his head and left the store; and as he walked along the street, a stranger and friendless, the counsel of his poor mother came forcibly to his mind, upon her death-bed, calling him to her side, and placing her emaciated hand upon his head, said, "Johnny, my dear boy, I'm going to leave you. You will know what disgrace and misery your father brought on us before his death, and I want you to promise me, before I die, that you will never taste one drop of the accursed poison that killed your father. Promise me this, and be a good boy, John, and I shall die in peace."

The scolding tears trickled down Johnny's cheeks, and he promised ever to remember the dying words of his mother, and never to drink any spirituous liquors; but he soon forgot his promise, and when he received the rebuke from the merchant, he remembered what his mother said, and what he had promised her, and he cried aloud, and people gazed at him as he passed along, and boys rallied at him. He went to his lodgings, and, throwing himself upon his bed, gave vent to his feelings in sobs that were heard all over the house.

But John had moral courage. He had energy and determination, and ere an hour had passed he made up his mind never to taste another drop of liquor, nor to smoke another cigar, as long as he lived. He went straight back to the merchant, and said, "Sir, I am very properly sent me away this morning for habits that I have been guilty of; but, sir, I have neither father nor mother, and though I have occasionally done what I ought not to do, and have not followed the good advice of my poor mother who died, nor the promise I made her, I would do so, yet I have made a solemn vow never to drink another drop of liquor, nor to smoke another cigar; and you, sir, will only try me, it is all I ask."

The merchant was struck with the decision and energy of the boy, and at once employed him. At the expiration of five years, this lad was a partner in the business, and he was now worth ten thousand dollars. He has faithfully kept his pledge, to which he owes his elevated position.

Boys, think of this circumstance, as you enter upon the duties of life, and remember upon what points of character your destiny for good or for evil depends.—Northern Farmer.

NO ROOM FOR LOAFERS.

These words recently met our eyes as we passed a workshop in this city. "No room for loafers!" Sure enough, there is no room for loafers anywhere in this working world. They are not wanted in the workshop, nor in the editor's sanctum, they are a nuisance in the country store, spitting and swearing about the store, and at the post office are in everybody's way. They are forever out of place—except when in the almshouse or jail. A dead weight upon society, they form a part of our nation's plague, it abhors them as it does a vermin.

While all the world around them is going forward, they are standing still, or rather gliding imperceptibly backward into seamy vagabondism. A loafer soon grows rusty. It is only use which keeps our faculties bright, and the idle man gets dull, stupid, and unkindly.

Yet some of these fellows seem to think very well of themselves. You will see them strutting along the sunny side of the street, lounging at corners, hanging about the doors of the hotels, or the entrance to the theater, with fine clothes upon their backs, and a well-satisfied smirk upon their vacant countenances.

The poor creature looks down upon a working man as a being of an inferior order! No doubt the drones affect to despise the busy bees; until they are driven from the hive to strive, while the workers feast upon the honey. A loafer setting himself above the man who labors with his hands! why, he is as far beneath the common horse. A young mechanic, in his working dress, and with his tools in his hands, is every way a more agreeable object to the eye than the loafer in existence. There is always room for him. He is never out of place, for he is keeping step with the movement of the universe. He has an aim, a purpose, and he stands for something. His faculties are trained to use, and he is of value to the world for what he can do. The skilled workman is to the idle man what the manure is to the raw material. He has an additional value above that of mere manhood.

CHILDREN'S TEMPER.

"My child has such a dreadful temper," sighs many a mother; "I really cannot tell what to do with him. It is over like a flash, and he is sorry for it, but on some new provocation it breaks out again as strong as ever. I lose all my own patience in trying to make him my patient."

Very likely the tendency you so much deplore in your child arises from qualities very valuable in themselves. He is full of a kindred eager purpose which a sluggish "good-natured" child knows nothing of. He has an active, restless temperament, which, if rightly directed, will make him an earnest worker when he grows up; and, of course, he will meet with a great many rubs and jars in carrying out his child plan. People do not respect little children enough, or they would not interfere needlessly with their "work."

It is quite as important to them as yours is to you, and it is quite as irritating to have it all spoiled. If you repress your child's anger by angry words, you have only turned the quick lightning into sulphuric acid, which will nurse the evil temper for hours. You may rest assured you have done a great deal more harm than good. Bright, cheerful words, and a firm, restraining hand, will have far more weight. If he has been wronged, teach him to bear it bravely; give him a little anecdote to illustrate your point—every child will stop for a story—and when it is over he may have "forgotten what he was crying about." But the story is to prevent the irritating cause, when you can. Never be afraid of making your child too happy. O, it is this blessed sunshine of our childhood that makes the heart grow rich in precious treasures of love and gentleness. It is in this bright atmosphere of happiness that we learn our choicest lessons, and which we must teach and practice over and over again. And the earlier you begin to teach your little one his obligation to God for all his conduct, the more abundant will be your success in repressing the evil of the natural heart. Go away with him and pray for his forgiveness after an act of disobedience or an outbreak of passion. Teach him to pray, also, not for forgiveness only, but for help to keep from doing so again.

Tell him Jesus will easily help him if he will only stop and pray, when Satan tempts him to get angry. They will believe you a great deal more readily than other people. There is no disposition better fitted than a little child's to receive the kingdom of heaven.—N.Y. Chronicle.

PECULIARITIES OF THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial, at Lake Providence, narrates the following:

"On a large plantation near Lake Providence, there lives a wealthy southern named George Hood. Mr. Hood, though unmarried, is not unmated. He lives in seclusion, with a small room for whom he paid \$1,500 in New-Orleans. Two intelligent looking, black eyed, black haired girls, one of them about nineteen years of age, the other about sixteen, are the fruits of this Union." By the laws of the state, in such cases, the children take their status from the mother, so that the two girls are at once Mr. Hood's daughters and his slaves, and he boasts that if this abolition war were not in progress he could get \$2,000 apiece for them. Mr. Hood is looked upon as a true type of a southern gentleman. His wealth is so great that his moral shortcomings are entirely overlooked, and he is received into the best society of the parish as one worthy of acceptance.

In the Seventy-eighth Ohio regiment, there is a man who was taken, as a runaway slave, into our lines in Tennessee, a few months ago. His complexion and features denote Anglo-Saxon origin, as pure as there is in any state, North or South, to-day. His skin is fair, his eyes blue, his lips thin, and his hair light. His Tennessee 'master' admitted to Colonel Seggett, of the Seventy-eighth, that there was not a drop of African blood in the veins of his 'slave.' He bought him in Richmond, Kentucky, several years ago, and says he was sold into slavery out of some charitable institute to which he had been committed as a vagrant. The man himself appears to know nothing of his parentage or origin. He can neither read nor write, and only knows that he is very glad to have escaped from bondage. This is the clearest case of a white man being sold into slavery. The man is an enlisted soldier in the Seventy-eighth, and the officers of the regiment say he is a faithful and worthy man."

MUSICAL ANECDOTE.—A Highland piper, having a scholar to teach, disdained to crack his brains with the names of semibreves, minims, crotchets and quavers. "Here, Donald," he said, "I'll teach you to play, but you must be a So—verra weel black, and get aye a blast, or you'll never be a piper. Now, what's the name of your 'slave'?" He bought him in Richmond, Kentucky, several years ago, and says he was sold into slavery out of some charitable institute to which he had been committed as a vagrant. The man himself appears to know nothing of his parentage or origin. He can neither read nor write, and only knows that he is very glad to have escaped from bondage. This is the clearest case of a white man being sold into slavery. The man is an enlisted soldier in the Seventy-eighth, and the officers of the regiment say he is a faithful and worthy man."

MOUNTAINS AND MEN.—Mountains never shake hands. Their roots may touch; they may keep together some way up, but at length they part company, and rise as individuals, insulated peaks. So it is with great men. As mountains mostly run in chains and clusters, crossing the plain at wider or narrower intervals, in like manner are there epochs in history when great men appear in clusters also. At first, too, they grow up together, seeming to be animated by the same spirit, to have the same desires and antipathies, the same purposes and ends. But after a while the great men each begins to show itself, and to follow its own bent; they separate and diverge more and more; and those who, when young, were working in concert, stand alone in their old age.